

The Evolution of Malay Spelling.

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Much has been written in the last hundred years on the theory of Malay spelling. Europeans, both Dutch and English, have worked out elaborate systems of orthography, and have laid down what they considered the proper rules to be followed, but the Malays have continued to spell as they please in spite of the efforts of the foreign scholars.

There is, however, at the present time so much diversity and inconsistency among the Malays themselves in regard to the spelling of even the commonest words, that it is very widely felt that a recognized system of orthography is most desirable; but Europeans have hitherto made the mistake of trying to bend the Malays to an elaborate, scientific system of foreign manufacture, the beauties of which the Malays are unable to appreciate.

A more practicable plan would seem to be to make a thorough historical investigation of the evolution of the art of spelling among the Malays, with a view to determining what is the natural trend of the changes which have taken place in the past. It seems not unreasonable to expect that such an investigation may provide a clue to the possibilities of such spelling reform as will not be distasteful to the Malays themselves, and may therefore eventually commend itself to them for universal adoption.

The materials available in Singapore are not by any means adequate for a complete and exhaustive investigation of the history of Malay spelling, but it is hoped that the following contribution to the study of this subject will at least establish some important principles of spelling reform, and will if necessary stimulate others to further search.

It is generally agreed that the Arabs gained their religious ascendancy over the Malays during the 13th century, and that it was from them that the Malays received their present written character. The earliest Malay manuscripts now extant, however, do not date back more than half of that period. In No. 31 of this

Journal I have already described some of the most interesting of these MSS., and particular care was taken to reproduce as exactly as possible the spelling of the originals. On page 107 of the paper above referred to, will be found a reference to certain MSS. belonging to the Cambridge University Library and described by Dr. van Ronkel in Part 2 of Series 6 of *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*. This paper by Dr. van Ronkel provides valuable material for the present investigation, the spelling of his extracts having also been reproduced with considerable accuracy. The Cambridge MSS. were taken to Europe from the East in the first decade of the 17th century, and one of them bears the date 1604. The earliest of the Oxford MSS. bears a Mohammedan date (A. H. 1011) equivalent to the year 1602 of our era, another is almost certainly of the same date, a third is dated 1612, and a copy of the *Uikayat Sri Rama* was probably also obtained at that time, as it belonged to the same collection, and came into the Bodleian library in 1633. For information in regard to the two Leiden MSS. and the Harleian MS., which I have also made use of though they are of a somewhat later date, the reader is referred to my paper in Journal No. 31. I have also in my possession careful copies of four other manuscript letters belonging to the Leiden University, but for the purposes of this paper I will confine myself to the manuscripts mentioned above, which have already been fully described by Dr. van Ronkel and myself and are available to the reader in the Journals referred to.

As compared with the changes which have taken place in the spelling of the English language since the days of Queen Elizabeth (to whom the oldest of the Oxford MSS. was addressed) it must be said that the differences between the Malay spelling of to-day and that of three hundred years ago are very few and very insignificant indeed—an exemplification of the well-known fact that the Oriental is slow to change. Manuscripts and even printed documents of the date of Queen Elizabeth are so entirely different from modern English writings and books that they can only be read by those who have made them a special study. Our oldest Malay manuscripts, however, could be read to-day by any school boy with the greatest ease, with the exception of perhaps an unusual word or an obsolete spelling here and there.

It is remarkable that these Malay MSS., written in many different places and as far apart as Acheen and Celebes, exhibit far less divergence from one another in regard to spelling than can now be found in native letters and even in printed works from different parts of the Archipelago. In those days, no doubt, the art of writing was practised by comparatively few persons, and they may have been scribes specially instructed in the art, whereas to-day thousands of comparatively uneducated natives write letters in Malay, and even print commercial and other documents in any kind of spelling. Moreover, the old manuscripts which have survived to tell us how the Malays wrote their language in those days are mostly official documents or religious and literary productions, all of which would naturally be written by the best educated natives of the time. These considerations will in a great measure account for the greater diversity of Malay spelling which now exists, but the remarkable uniformity in the spelling of the MSS. of the 17th century can only be adequately explained by the existence of some fixed standard of spelling to which the scribes felt it necessary to conform. That fixed standard, we may presume, was the Arabic system of orthography. It was undoubtedly directly from the Arabs that the Malays received their present written character, and it is quite probable that for many years, perhaps for centuries, the art of writing may have been almost entirely confined to those Arabs who had learned the Malay language.

It should moreover be remembered that at the time of the advent of the Arabs the Malays were already scattered all over the Archipelago, from the north of Sumatra to the extreme east of Java, and even as far as Celebes and the Moluccas, and must be regarded as having been at that time merely a number of independent units divided up under the rule of a great number of petty chiefs or rajas, who were often at war with one another, and none of whom were sufficiently powerful to exercise any commanding influence over the remainder. This makes it even more remarkable that there should be such striking uniformity in the spelling of the Malay language throughout the Archipelago at the period with which we are dealing. If the Arabs had attempted to make an adaptation of their own system of spelling to suit the peculiarities of the Malay language, the result would

undoubtedly have been that in different parts of the Archipelago there would have been different modifications of the Arabic spelling, and a variety of Malay spellings would have been unavoidable. The uniformity in the spelling of the earliest manuscripts would therefore lead us to expect that the system of orthography according to which the Arabs originally began to write the Malay language and which they subsequently taught to the Malays, was precisely the same as they themselves used in writing their own language. Whether this was so or not is the first point which we will examine.

It should first be stated, that Arabic can be written either with or without vowel points, and books are printed at the present time in both styles. The plain or unvowelled style is the more common, but as the entire omission of vowel points would frequently cause ambiguity, the Arabs find it necessary in certain words to use one or more vowel points. This description of the way in which modern Arabic is printed applies exactly to the way in which Malay was written 300 years ago. Several vowelled Malay MSS. are extant. One of the old Cambridge MSS. contains twelve pages of Malay fully vowelled, and in the other MSS. mentioned above, vowels are used in isolated words. In committing an unknown language to writing, it is pretty certain that the Arabs would at first use all the vowel points, if only for the purpose of recording for their own use the sounds of the new language, and in all probability Malay would continue to be written with vowels for many years, until the scribes had become thoroughly familiar with the forms of all the common words, after which they would begin to drop the vowels from such words, retaining them only in the case of unusual words or peculiar derivatives. This is precisely the way in which we find that Malay was actually written at the beginning of the 17th century.

We will now proceed to show (I) that at the time when our MSS. were written the spelling *as a general rule* conformed exactly to the rules of Arabic orthography; after which it will be shown (II) that words which at that time were sometimes written otherwise than in strict accordance with Arabic orthography were being gradually introduced with the deliberate intention of doing away with the necessity for the use of vowel points and orthographical signs, and for the purpose of making

such words more legible; and lastly we will consider (III) what alterations could be made in modern Malay spelling which would produce uniformity without destroying the Malay ideal of obtaining legibility without the use of vowels, that is to say without a retrograde movement in the direction of Arabic orthography such as has hitherto been advocated by European scholars.

I. With few exceptions the spelling of manuscripts 300 years old conforms exactly to the rules of Arabic orthography.

(1) One of the first peculiarities which would be noticed by a person only acquainted with modern Malay spelling is that final *wau* and *ya* are only used in these MSS. for the purpose of forming the diphthongs *au* and *ai*. Thus we find the following words, which I have taken from all the different MSS. spelt without final *wau* or *ya* as the case may be:—

aku bagi batu bechenti bertemu bersuchi biji besi bumi bunyi chuchu

چوچ بُونِ بوم بس بیج برسوچ برتم برهنت بات بَکْ اُکْ

dhulu dato deri diri diri-ma di-tucani ecti hari hati ini isi

ایس این هات هار ارت دتروں دریم دیر در دَات دَهُولُ

itu judi kali kami kamu kayu keji kembali lagi laki lalu

لال لاک لاک کمال کچ کای کام کَام کال جَادِ اِئْتُ

mauli mati mau mimpi memli menchabuli memri mengampu

مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ مَمْلِ

menjauli negri oleh-ma pergi prahu paji ratu sa-kali seperti sari

سر سَفَرْتُ سِکَال رات فوج فراه فَرَكْ اولم نکر مِجَاد

sa-ribu suatu suchi suka tahu terlalu Ternati tinggi tetapi

تَنَافِ تَغْکْ تَرَنَات نرلال ناه سِکْ سوچ سوات سَرِیْب

But the following words ending in a diphthong are spelt with final *wan* and *ya* in every case in which they occur in these MSS:—

angka atau bagai berchrai biran hai haran hijau jikalau kalau
 کالو جکلو هیچو هارو هی بیرو برچری باکی انو اغکو
kerbau limau prisai rambai rantai rantau sungai tajau
 ناجو سوغي رنتو رني رمي فريسي ليو کربو

We find however that the scribe who wrote MS. G. had a strong prejudice in favour of final *wan* and *ya*, even in words which do not end in a diphthong, for he writes:—

bri brani budi chuchu hari kasturi lembu mentri madeli najiri
 نفري مدلي منتري ليو کستوري هاري چچو بودي براني بري
negri pri putri sakti sendiri sri bahru
 بهرو سري سنديري سکتی فتری فري نگیری

But he also spells *hari* without the *ya*, and all other words of this kind are spelt without the *ya* as *aku*, *hati*, *lalu*, *kembali*, *menjampu*, *tetapi*, etc.

The Leiden MSS. E. and D., which were written at the end of the 17th century, contain five of such words written with final *wan* or *ya*, and F., which is also of a later date, contains three. In all the other MSS. the only instances are *kati*, which is found once, and *negri*, which is sometimes spelt with the *ya* and sometimes without, and a few names of places in MS. C. which being unvowelled would hardly be recognized without the final weak letters.

It should be remarked that some of the words given above are spelt in a way which would be quite inexplicable on any other supposition than that they were originally vowelled, and these peculiar spellings are just the ones which never vary in any of the MSS. and are still in use at the present day, as for instance:

| | | | | |
|------------|------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>itu</i> | <i>ini</i> | <i>jikalau</i> | <i>seperti</i> | <i>suatu</i> |
| ايت | ابن | جكلو | سڤرت | سوات |

But though their spelling appears at first sight so peculiar, it must be remembered that according to the rules of Arabic orthography these words could not be spelt in any other way, except that perhaps جكلو might be spelt جكالو but it will be noticed later on that only one weak letter appears to have been used in any word, and that therefore, the *wau* being required to form the final diphthong *au*, the *alif* which would otherwise be inserted to mark the stress has been omitted.

It is interesting to note that the Dutchman van Elbinck, who with his own hand copied portions of the Cambridge MSS., adhered rigidly to the Arabic orthography of the originals from which he was copying, but when left to his own unaided genius in writing out a list of Malay words with their meanings in Dutch, he followed the more natural method of spelling to which the Malays have now attained, as will be seen from the following examples taken from his vocabulary, dated 1st June, 1604:—

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>anak</i> | <i>dara</i> | <i>paha</i> | <i>susu</i> | <i>hati</i> | <i>jari</i> | <i>bahu</i> | <i>gigi</i> | <i>bulu</i> | <i>api</i> |
| انق | دارا | فها | سوسو | هاتي | جاري | باهو | كيجي | بولو | اڤي |

At the present time the use of final *wau* and *ya* has become almost universal, and many Malays would be quite unable to read the words given above if they were spelt thus.

2. In modern Malay, for the sake of legibility, a final *alif* is usually written in such words as *bawa*, *ara*, etc. In the Arabic system of orthography, the sound of the short final *a* as it is pronounced in most Malay words is represented merely by the vowel *fathah* placed over the preceding consonant; the addition of *alif* would indicate a lengthening of the vowel. The number of Malay words, however, which have the long *a* sound in the last syllable is very small, the following being a few of them:—

| | | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| <i>bla</i> | <i>tra</i> | <i>sela</i> | <i>kra</i> | <i>depa</i> |
| بلا | ترا | سلا | كرا | دفا |

These and a few Arabic words such as

dunia ulamia hukama

حكما علما دنيا

are the only ones which by the rules of Arabic orthography will allow a final *alif*. In modern Malay, however, the following forms are common:—

ara antara bawa bichara bila bnta bahwa dua jala

جالا دوا بهوا بونا بيلا بچارا باوا انتارا ارا

jawa jua kula kota kuda lada mulia pala perkara pinta roda

رودا فنتا فركارا فاللا مليا لادا كودا كونا كالا جوا جاوا

sabda sahya sedia sigra setia tara tonda tua

نوا تندنا تارا ستيا سكرنا سديا سهيا سيدا

This spelling will not be found in these ancient MSS. It is therefore very evident that in this respect the Malay has a tendency to depart from the strict Arabic spelling of former times. Such words as the following, on the other hand, continue to be spelt without the final *alif*:—

ada anyaya apa apabila bapa biasa binasa daya dia hamba ia

اي همب دي داي بناس بياس باف اقبيل اف انياي اد

jika kacha kata kaya kerja kuasa lama mata masa manusia mula

مول مانسي ماس مات لام كواس كرج كاي كات كاج جك

nama pada puasa pula raja rasa rupa serta suara suka sagala tanga

نان سنكل سوك سوار سره روڤ راس راج فول فواس فد نام

(3) In the old Malay MSS. the weak letters *alif*, *wau* and *ya* are not used in the middle of a closed syllable to lengthen the vowel sound, except in words of Arabic origin, such as:—

jakir huruf islam jawab kitab maidan miskin

مسکین میدان کتاب جواب اسلام حروف فقیر

These words are pronounced by the Arabs with the stress on the last syllable, but the Malays, though retaining this spelling, put the stress on the penultimate, where it is found in the great majority of Malay roots. There are quite a number of words in the Malay language which have the stress upon the final syllable, and in many cases this final syllable which bears the stress is a closed syllable, but the long vowel sound which the Arab gives to the words quoted above is never heard in a Malay word, it is therefore not to be expected that the Arabs would teach the Malays to write the quiescent weak letter in such words as *sebot*, *renoig*, *prang*, *dras*, *kring*, etc. As a matter of fact we never find the weak letter in such words in the old MSS.* though in modern Malay these words are frequently written

سوت رنوڠ فراڠ دراس کریڠ

and we now even find such forms as the following, where the stress is distinctly on the penultimate:—

ékor habis menangis sakit sayur tanjongulus tikus

تیکوس نولوس تنجوڠ سایور ساکیت مناغیس هایس ایکور

The nearest approach to the long vowel sound in a closed syllable in Malay, is to be found in the two mono-syllables *pun* and *dan*, and it is a remarkable thing that these two words are invariably written with the weak letters *wau* and *alif* respectively in all of our old MSS. and are so written up to the present time. Robinson in his "Malayan Orthography" rejects this method of spelling *pun* and *dan*, which he considers ought to be spelt فُنْ and دَنْ: the evidence of the old MSS. is,

* The spelling ترسبوة on p. 116, line 12, R. A. S. Journal Str. Br. No. 31 will be found on reference to the photographic reproduction of MS. A. to be a misprint.

however, strongly in favour of the received method of spelling these words.

(4) Another remarkable difference between the spelling of our MSS. and modern Malay spelling is in the use of the orthographical sign *tashdid*, which means "strengthening," and indicates that the letter over which it is placed is to be doubled or sounded twice. This sign is now hardly ever used by Malays, except in Arabic proper names, such as Allah ﷻ and Muhammad مُحَمَّد but in our MSS. it is used with great frequency.

(a) It is used over the weak letters *wau* and *ya* whenever the preceding consonant bears the corresponding vowel sound, thereby showing that the said weak letter answers the double purpose of vowel and consonant. Thus the word *dua* is considered as consisting of the two syllables *di-ya*, and is written not دِيَّ but دِيَّ but *buat* is considered as consisting of the two syllables *bu-wat* and is written not بُوَت but بُوَت. This use of *tashdid* appears to be precisely the same as is found in the Arabic words *iyak* اِيَّاك *niyat* نِيَّة and in the termination يَّة. This appears to be sufficient to account for this method of spelling, which is found in the following words in the old MSS.,

buat *dua* *diam* *dua* *ia* *jua* *luar* *muat*
 بُوَت دِيَّ دِيَّ دُوَّ اِيَّ جُوَّ لُوَّ مُوَّ

This double use of the weak letter, first as vowel and then as consonant, finds its counterpart in the Dutch language, where one meets such words as *huwen*, *vrouwen*, etc., and it is therefore not unnatural that the Dutch have adopted this peculiar spelling of Malay, even in the roman character, thus:—*diya*, *buwat*, *diyam*, *duwa*, *iya*, *juwa*, *luwar*, *muwat*, etc., though one or two of the Dutch scholars have protested against the use of the *w* and *y* as being redundant. For instance Dr. Gerth v. Wijk writes in his grammar, p. 21: "Although in the Javanese, for instance,

owing to the nature of its spelling, in such words as "*boewang*, *tijang*, the *w* and *j* are written, and must be used in transliterating them in our character, if one wishes to reproduce the original spelling exactly, these letters are quite superfluous in Malay transliteration. The union of *oe* and *i* with the following *a*, *i*, *oe*, takes place of itself in the pronunciation: we do not write *bowa*, *knijen*, but simply *boa*, *knien*; and even less is *w* or *j* necessary in *boeang*, *tiang*, etc. If the Malay wrote the *tashdid*, it would be reasonable to represent it in the transliteration. Being opposed to superfluous letters, I write *ia*, *tiap*, *loear*, etc., which seem to me quite sufficient, as this method of spelling represents the pronunciation as clearly as one can desire."

The Malays appear to prefer to divide the syllables as follows:—*bu-at*, *du-a*, *di-am*, *ju-a*, *mu-at*, etc., for the modern Malay spelling of such words is

buat dua buah jua muat luar sia-sia
 بوات دوا بواه جوا موات لوار سياسيا

(b) Another frequent use of *tashdid* in the old MSS. is for the purpose of doubling the consonant which follows the short vowel, called by the Javanese *pepet*, the sound of which may be described as equivalent to the short *a* in the English words "balloon," "machine," etc.

Among our old MSS. we find that Li. 6. 45 of the Cambridge MSS. is the most consistent in this use of the *tashdid*, the following words which contain short vowels being thus spelt in the brief extract given by v. Ronkel.

bahwa besar benar dengan kekal kras lebel telah tengah
 بَهْوَه بَسَرَه بَنَرَه دَعْنَه كَكَلْ كَرَسْ لَبَه تَلَه تَغَه

A portion of another Cambridge MS., Gg. 6. 40, in the handwriting of the Dutchman v. Elbinck, has the following words

bahwa besar belah gumetar kechil sru sudah telah tetap
 بَهْوَه بَسَرَه بَلَه كَهْتَر سُرُو سُدَه تَلَه تَتَف

and Dd. 5. 37 of the Cambridge collection, which is in the same hand-writing, has *sa-blas tebus*

تَبَسْ . سَبَسْ

but also *bahwa dengan lebih telah* without the *tashdid*.

تَلَه لَبِه دَغْن بَهو

The only other Cambridge MS. in which I have found the *tashdid* used in this way is Ll. 6. 5, which has دَغْن once, and ترسَدَر

In the Oxford MSS. marked A. B. and C. in my paper in No. 31 of this Journal, we find the following words:

bri blum Chelang Deli degar dengan glar kapal kapitan
كَفَتَن كَقَل كَلَر دَغْن دَغَر دَلِي جَلَع بَلَم بَرِي

kati kekang keji megat memegang memeli meli negri netiasa
نَتِيَّاس نَكْرِي مَل مَل مَمَكَّع مَمَكَّت كَج كَكَّع كَتِي

pesan petrana Rekan suka suka-chita Samudara sudah seni telok
تَلَق سَنِي سَدَهله سَمْدَر سَكَّجَت سَكَّ رَكَن فَتْرَان فَسَن

But these MSS. have also some of these very words, and several others of the same kind, spelt without the *tashdid*. *Dengan* has the *tashdid* only once, in B. *Bahwa*, which almost always has *tashdid* in the Cambridge MSS., never has it in the Oxford MSS. *Degar* is spelt without *tashdid* in A.

The Oxford MS. of " *Hikayat Sri Rama*" has the following

blas besar betul genap kechil selang sa-telah sudah
سَدَه سَتَلَه سَلَع كَجَل كَنَف بَتَل بَسَر بَلَس

but one or two of these are also found without the *tashdid*, as well as some which have it in the other MSS., as,

| | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>bahwa</i> | <i>bri</i> | <i>dengan</i> | <i>menejar</i> | <i>tengah</i> |
| بہو | بری | دغن | منجر | تغه |

It is a remarkable fact that the early Dutch translators of the Bible made a wide use of the *tashdid*, and even when spelling such words in the roman character they were in the habit of placing a stroke over a letter in place of the *tashdid*. Thus we find: "*suddah, kenna*," etc., and even the following words, which are not found in our MSS. viz.,

"*makka, padda, derri, sagalla, adda, appa, laggi*."

Curiously enough the use of *tashdid* with the short vowel, after having completely gone out of use, was introduced once more in the middle of last century by the lexicographer van de Wall. This writer, however, does not use the *tashdid* indiscriminately with all words containing the short vowel, as appears to have been done in the old MSS., but confines its use to those words which have the accent on the short vowel. Such words for instance, as,

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>kras</i> | <i>kekal</i> | <i>betul</i> | <i>blum</i> | <i>pegang</i> | <i>bli</i> | <i>keji</i> | <i>glar</i> | <i>blah</i> |
| کرس | ککل | بتل | بلم | فکغ | بلی | کجی | گلر | بله |

which carry the *tashdid* in the old MSS., are written by van de Wall without it, and we find him using this sign only in such words as:—

"*dengnan rēdda kēnna pētjtjah*"

| | | | |
|-----|----|----|-----|
| دغن | رد | کن | تجه |
|-----|----|----|-----|

In regard to this use of *tashdid* he himself says in his introduction to the first volume of his uncompleted dictionary, p. xvi: "As in the case of the vowel points and other signs, the 'Malays in their ordinary writing disregard the *tashdid*, 'sign of 'strengthening,' which when placed over a letter shows that that 'letter must be doubled: but that is no indication of its non-exis-

"tence or of its being unnecessary. The Malay who has learnt "to read the Koran, not only knows what the *tashdid* is, but also "feels the advantage of it in Malay, for if one gets him into a corner he will at last say: *buboh-lah tashdid*. 'just put a *tashdid* "over it.'

"The non-use of the *tashdid* leads the Malay sometimes to "the most peculiar spelling. For instance he is conscious that in the "word *rēdda*, 'to abate' (as a storm or sickness) the accent lies "on the first syllable and ought to be expressed, which it is not by "رد or ردا; therefore he lengthens the vowel of the ر (ē) and "writes راد, without troubling himself about the fact that it is "absurd to lengthen the ē. Some words, which are written with "the same letters and vowel points, could not be distinguished "from each other without the *tashdid*, as لَتَقْ *lētāk* (accent on the "2nd syllable) interj. for a certain clinking sound, and لَتَقْ *lētāk* "to place. I therefore use the *tashdid* everywhere in my dictionary, where the pronunciation demands it, and write رَدَّ *rēdda*, "دَعْنُ *dēnggan*, مَتَّ *mētta* 'raging.' And do we not ourselves "write for instance *kud-de*, *kun-ne*, indifferent as to the reason "for doing so. It should be noted that in Malay words the "double consonants only appear after the ē."

From this it is evident that the Malay writers of the beginning of the 17th century used the *tashdid* in a different way to that advocated by Werndly, Robinson and van der Wall, and moreover none of these methods of using this sign can be regarded as being directly based upon the Arabic system of orthography. The methods invented and used by Werndly, Robinson and van der Wall were purely arbitrary, and soon fell into disuse, and there seems to be every reason to believe that the use of *tashdid* as found in our MSS. was also purely local and arbitrary, for it is a remarkable fact that all the MSS. in which this use of *tashdid* is found almost certainly came from Acheen, and I have not been able to find the *tashdid* used with the short vowel

in any of the MSS. which we know to have been written elsewhere. The Oxford MSS. A. B. C. have already been proved to have come from Acheen; of the Cambridge MSS. Gg. 6. 40 contains a vocabulary written by Pieter Willemsz. van Elbinck, and dated Acheen, 1st June, 1604; Dd. 5. 37, and the 2nd part of Gg. 6. 40, which contains the writing in question, are both written by the same hand as the vocabulary, and the former closes thus (in Dutch) "end of the Story of Joseph, written the 1st October, 1604, by Pieter Willems." The only MS. therefore about which there remains any uncertainty as to whether or not it was written at Acheen, is Ll. 6. 5. of the Cambridge MSS. but there seems, from what Dr. v. Ronkel says, to be no reasonable doubt that this MS. came into the hands of Erpenius with those bearing the name of the same Pieter Willems, whom he believes to have brought all these MSS. from the East, with the exception of Dd. 9. 55., which never belonged to Erpenius.

It should not be forgotten that, at the time when these MSS. were written, Acheen was one of the most powerful Malay States. In his letter to King James (Oxford MS. C.) the King of Acheen claims sovereignty over all the rajas in Sumatra as well as Perak and Pahang on the Peninsula, and from the accounts of Lancaster's voyages he seems to have been able to enforce his authority at least as far south as Priaman (near Padang). In this connection I was interested to find the statement made by van de Wall, in his introduction mentioned above, that the original Malay spelling is known as "Achinese spelling." Where van der Wall obtained his information in regard to the name *heja Acheh* I have not been able to discover, but if it is a fact that this method of spelling, found in all its purity in our Acheen MSS. of 300 years ago, is still known by tradition among the Malays as "Achinese spelling," this would seem to point to Acheen as having been the chief centre of learning and literature at that time, and perhaps even earlier. This would entirely agree with the accounts of Lancaster's first voyages, which state that the educated Malays at Acheen spoke Arabic fluently, and Lancaster himself held intercourse with the Malays at that place in the Arabic language, having as his interpreter a Jew who spoke Arabic.

My contention therefore is, that the use of *tashdid* to indicate the short vowel sound was merely a local custom at Acheen, which the influence of even such a comparatively powerful State did not avail to bring into general use in the Archipelago. If this usage had been in accord with the Arabic orthography, it would undoubtedly have been universally adopted in the same way as the *tashdid* over *wau* and *ya* mentioned in the last paragraph (4. a.).

(5) We next come to the use of the weak letters *alif*, *wau*, and *ya* in open syllables. Their use at the end of a word has already been considered in (1) and (2). We will now inquire when and for what purpose these weak letters were used in the old MSS. in the middle of (a) root words, (b) derivatives.

(a) In root words, the weak letters are found in the open syllable upon which the accent falls, except in the case of the short vowel. The accent being usually on the penultimate, that is the syllable in which the weak letter is usually found.

In accordance with the rules of Arabic orthography, a weak letter when thus placed in an open syllable after a corresponding vowel is "quiescent and then serves only to lengthen the vowel which precedes it." * Thus in the word فاد "sufficient," the vowel of the penultimate is lengthened by the *alif*. The preposition فد is, however, never spelt with an *alif*; not that there is any very appreciable difference in the pronunciation of these two words, but rather perhaps on account of the fact that in conversation less stress will naturally fall upon a preposition than upon a noun, adjective or verb. This seems to be the only possible way to account for the absence of the *alif*, *wau* and *ya* in such words as

sudah maka pada deri segala

سكڤل در فد مك سده

which in our MSS., as far as I have noticed, are the only words which do not have the lengthening weak letters in the accented syllable, with the exception of the foreign word *sandagar* which

* Faris' Arabic Grammar,

is spelt **سودکر** in every case, the *alif* being perhaps omitted in the penultimate on account of there being already a weak letter in the first syllable to form the diphthong *au*.

The following are words of two or more syllables having the weak letter in the penultimate,

beniaya chilaka guru hanya itu jalan kliling plihara suatu
بَنِیَاکُ چِلاکُ کُورُو هَانْ اِیتُ جَالَنْ کَلِیْلِغْ پَلِہَارْ سُوَاتُ

Kerna is invariably spelt **کَارَنْ** which would indicate that this word was at that time a three syllable word with the accent upon the first syllable; now it is sometimes pronounced as if it were a two syllable word.

(b) In derivative words formed by the juxtaposition of two roots, the lengthening weak letter is almost invariably found only in the penultimate, being entirely omitted in the first of the two words forming the compound, as :

apabila hulubalang suka-chita

اَفْبِیلْ هُلُبَالِغْ سُکِیْتْ

The same is the case in reduplications wherever the *angka dua* is not used, as,

dagang-dagang, mudah-mudahan, raja-raja

دَکْغَدَاکْغْ مَدْهَدَاهَنْ رَجَرَا

The omission of the weak letter in the first word in such cases is undoubtedly phonetic, the stress being strong on the penultimate of the compound.

When, however, we come to the case of derivative words formed by the addition of suffixes, we immediately meet with a difficulty which, as far as my reading has gone, has never yet been explained by any European writer, namely that when the suffix, pronoun or other particle is added to the root, the position of the lengthening weak letter is changed, and is found in the penultimate of the derivative word thus formed. For instance :

کود by the addition of the preposition ن becomes in the old MSS. کدان although the pronunciation is not *kudá-nya*, but *kuda-nya*; and جاد becomes جدید although the word is pronounced *jádikan* and not *jadikan*.

The first of the Dutch scholars to point out this discrepancy between the spelling of derived Malay words and their actual pronunciation appears to have been van de Wall, who in the year 1859 wrote as follows in the *Tydschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*:—"But the change of position of the lengthening letter to, or its appearance in the penultimate of root words, has in most words no influence upon the accent, or at least very little; that is to say, the accent is in such cases not inherent in the long vowel. In general, the Malay retains in such cases the original accent, and says: *bantu*, *bantui*, *perbantuan*, *bantu-nya*, etc., *sèwa*, *sèvakan*, *sèwaï*, *persèwaän*, *sèwa-nya*, etc. But as the literary Malay always has an inclination to modify the pronunciation of the people according to the way a word is written, he also lays a stress to some extent on the syllable which has the long vowel, so that there come to be, as it were, two accents—a strong or commanding one, the natural accent of the root, and a weak one, the grammatical accent on the long vowel. The variations between strong and weak are very numerous, in different words and with different individuals, and there exists no fixed rule; there are even words, though very few, in which owing to the change in the position of the long vowel the natural accent of the root is entirely lost and only the grammatical accent remains; e.g. *katà-nya*, from *kàta*; *tambàgan* from *tàmbag*; though one also hears *tàmbagan*."

Three years later, in Vol. XII of the same Journal, A. B. Cohen Stuart raises a somewhat half-hearted protest against van de Wall's statement in regard to the pronunciation of such words. He says (page 68): "It is not without hesitation that I venture some objections to this proposition. I feel how unfavourably I am situated as compared with Mr. van de Wall

“in regard to a subject about which he is in such an infinitely
 “better position to form a correct opinion. I was therefore at
 “first inclined silently to accept as information his observations
 “as to accent; after further consideration, however, I found it
 “preferable to come forward fearlessly with my doubts, and to
 “expose myself if need be to a crushing reproof, if this should
 “be able to bring me, and perhaps others also, to a better view
 “on the subject.

“I confess then that I have hitherto been under the conviction that in Malay the accent is derived as well as in root words fell as a rule upon the penultimate; that on the addition of a suffix the position of the accent changed as a rule from that which was originally the penultimate to that which was originally the last syllable; and that the pronunciation which according to Mr. van de Wall is the true and natural one, was quite peculiar to Europeans. It is so, I believe, in Javanese. It is true that there the accent does not come out so clearly as in Dutch, and in the Javanese grammar of T. Roorda (§ 87) the very existence of any accent in Javanese is denied; but what is there called ‘a slower or more sleepy pronunciation of the two last syllables of every polysyllabic word’ is more correctly interpreted, as it seems to me, as being a real accent on the penultimate, and a drawing out or longer holding on to the last syllable. Indeed, if one pronounces *tulis*, for instance, in the pure Dutch style with a clear accent on the penultimate, though this may not give the exact Javanese pronunciation, it is certainly much nearer to it than if one should say *tul'is*, with an equally plain accent on the last syllable; and similarly the pronunciation of the same word with the affix *an*, would, I believe, be better represented by *tulissan* or *tulisan* than by *tulisan* or *tulisan*. If the word is again increased by the addition of another suffix, so that the original accented syllable is separated from the new suffix by one or more syllables, then besides the principal accent, which goes over to the last, the original accent again makes its appearance to some extent, as in *tulisane*, *ngáturaken*. In a word, without digressing further, my proposition in the main is this: that in Javanese at any rate there actually is in the pronunciation of every word of two or more syllables a sort of stress, which can properly be

" called an accent, and is usually situated in the penultimate,
 " and with the addition of an affix changes its position to the
 " new penultimate. The fact that Europeans pronounce both
 " Javanese and Malay words so frequently, I might say almost
 " always, with the accent on the ante-penultimate, even when
 " this is merely a grammatical prefix, and say for instance
 " *tūlisan*, *Pāngeran*, *Kālitān*, *Pāchitan*, would surely be the
 " strongest argument against that assertion, if that pronunciation
 " must be considered as having its origin in an unprejudiced con-
 " ception of the native pronunciation. But the Javanese and
 " Malay words which are most used by Europeans are generally
 " learned not so much by conversation with the natives as from
 " writings, in which owing to faulty transliteration the exact
 " pronunciation and particularly the accent are left quite uncer-
 " tain. For one European who first learns to pronounce say the
 " word *Pangeran* from the Javanese, there are perhaps twenty
 " who became acquainted with it only or in the first place
 " through European conversation or writings; and even if one
 " afterwards had the opportunity of hearing it pronounced by
 " natives, then one would have to pay a good deal of attention
 " and must have some interest in the subject in order to re-
 " cognize and to abandon a wrong pronunciation which one has
 " once appropriated; especially when it is so generally accepted
 " among our fellow countrymen that it would appear to be
 " pedantic or eccentric to deviate therefrom. If one considers
 " that in Dutch and kindred languages the accent, far from
 " having any preference for the penultimate, usually falls fur-
 " ther back, one will not be surprised to see this tendency in the
 " European pronunciation of native words. This phenomenon
 " therefore has in my opinion no more value in deciding the true
 " native pronunciation, than one would be justified in doubting
 " that the name Palembang should properly be pronounced
 " *Palémbang* (Javanese *pa-lém-bang*) because the majority of
 " Europeans, even if they have lived there for years, called it
 " *Palémbang*; or that the place where I am writing this is called
 " *Sâlâ*, because Europeans, although they know better, never
 " call it anything but Solo among themselves.

" As regards Malay, no one is less able than myself, espec-
 " ially in opposition to Mr. v. d. Wall, to refer to my own

" observations on the native pronunciation. So let us rather
 " consider what others have said on the subject. In Marsden
 " (Elout's translation p. 202) I only find the general statement,
 " that the accent usually coincides with the long vowel, and
 " falls by preference upon the penultimate, but without further
 " elucidation of peculiarities. De Hollander (*Handleiding tot*
 " *de beoefening der Mal. taal- en letterkunde*, 2nd ed., Breda,
 " 1856) says on the accent in words having only one suffix
 " (page 23, § 7), that they are pronounced both ways, either
 " with the accent on the syllable which had the accent in the
 " root (*mendápatkan*, *karádjáan*) or on the penultimate of the
 " derived word (*mendapátkan*, *karajáan*), and nothing further. By
 " Werndly (*Mal. Spraakkunst*, Amst. 1736) the subject is treat-
 " ed more fully (p. 45 *et seq.*), and in the following manner,
 " namely that the suffixes *kan*, *i*, *an*, *ku*, *mu*, *nya* always cause the
 " accent to change its position to the syllable immediately pre-
 " ceding them, whether that syllable be open or closed; that
 " the same thing takes place before *kah*, *tah*, *lah*, if a vowel,
 " diphthong or *h* precede them; while on the other hand, if
 " another consonant precedes one of these three suffixes, the
 " accent shifts to the preceding syllable or remains un-
 " changed at will (*sambót-lah* or *sánbot-lah*); and that
 " the change of accent results in the change from long
 " to short vowel and vice versa, except when the final
 " consonant meets the initial consonant of the suffix, as
 " *jálankan*. In the new edition of Werndly's grammar by
 " Angelbeek (Batavia 1823, p. 38) it is only stated in general
 " that in words of two or more syllables, whether they be roots,
 " or compound or derived words, the accent falls usually upon
 " the penultimate, and that 'the syllable on which the accent
 " falls must naturally be pronounced longer than the others.' I
 " do not know how much reliance can be placed upon the testi-
 " mony of these writers on such a point as this; certainly under
 " the most favourable circumstances they can hardly outweigh
 " the dictum of Mr. van de Wall; but their rule, as regards the
 " cardinal point, seems to me to find such strong support, on the
 " one hand in the analogy of the Javanese language, and on the
 " other in the indications given by the spelling of Malay in the
 " Arabic character, that even the dictum of Mr. van de Wall,

" while it shakes my belief in their accuracy, has not been able to
 " destroy it; and so much the less because Mr. van de Wall's
 " presentation of the subject is itself not quite clear. He says
 " (73, 399) ' the first result of the suffixes *kan, i, an, nya, ku, lah,*
 " *tah, kah,* on roots which end in an open syllable is, that they leng-
 " then the vowel of that syllable and cause the original long
 " vowel of the root to drop out: the suffixes *an* and
 " *i*, since they begin with a vowel, cause the same result in
 " words which end in a closed syllable, and in that case the final
 " consonant of the root becomes the initial letter of the suffix
 " with the corresponding vowel while the other
 " suffixes leave such words unchanged ; but the
 " change of position of the lengthening letter to or its appear-
 " ance in the penultimate of root words (read, of *derived* words ?
 " or in the *last* syllable of root words) has in most words no in-
 " fluence upon the accent, or at least very little; that is to say,
 " the accent is in such cases not inherent in the long vowel.'

" Here first of all the question arises: is the change of posi-
 " tion of the lengthening letter a mere graphic phenomenon,
 " does it only exist in the Malayo-Arabic character and the trans-
 " literations thereof, or does the same change in the length of
 " the vowels take place in the pronunciation? If this is maintain-
 " ed, I must then further ask how such a rule can have arisen in
 " the written character, a character which so to speak does not
 " belong to the language, and if such were the case might be
 " expected to have preserved in this respect the traces of a long
 " obsolete condition of the language or perhaps of some kindred
 " dialect, but which, borrowed from an entirely foreign language
 " and probably first applied to the Malay in comparatively recent
 " times, must be reckoned as rendering the native pronunciation in
 " common use as accurately as the foreign characters will allow ?
 " I could understand that the retention of the original spelling of
 " a root ending in a consonant when followed by a suffix beginning
 " with a consonant, might arise from an idea of producing legi-
 " bility, so as not to entirely deprive the word of vowel signs,

" and that one might therefore write for instance مندافتكن

" although perhaps (according to Werndly) مندفتكن might better

" represent the pronunciation : but how could anyone think of
 " writing *فندفان* if in this derivative, as in the root, the first *a* is
 " to be pronounced long and the second short, or above all things
 " how could this spelling come into general use ? If, however, in
 " this respect the pronunciation agrees with the spelling,
 " then though allowing that the length of the vowel is some-
 " thing quite different from the accent, it would be difficult for me
 " to imagine such a change in the first syllable and in the division
 " of the syllables otherwise than in connection with and a result
 " of a corresponding change in the position of the accent. Even
 " if it be admitted that the first change could be imagined with-
 " out the last, and that it actually exists in Malay, how can one
 " conceive that the 'inclination to modify the pronunciation of
 " the people according to the way a word is written,' could lead
 " to the alleged tendency of literary Malays to place, in addition
 " to the natural accent, a second, grammatical accent on a syl-
 " lable which properly had no claim whatever to any accent at
 " all ? Indeed in that case the written word is already, without
 " that misplaced accent, in entire agreement with the true pro-
 " nunciation : but then the Malay himself must comprehend too
 " well the difference between length and accent to confuse the
 " one with the other and thus to let himself be misled into such
 " an unnatural pronunciation.

" Moreover, that the Arabic character, by its imperfect re-
 " presentation of the pronunciation and especially owing to the
 " habit of omitting the vowel points, has really exercised some
 " influence upon the pronunciation, can, I believe, be properly in-
 " ferred from some corruptions which find therein a complete ex-
 " planation. I find a strong example of this in the word *مرکستو*
 " which is pronounced *margastoeva*, instead of *mrega-sattva*, as it
 " should be sounded according to the Sanskrit spelling. There
 " would certainly be nothing astonishing about this corruption
 " in itself : but it is difficult to ascribe to mere chance the fact
 " that the corruption is just of such a kind, as is favoured by the
 " illegible manner of writing without vowels ; to which the fact
 " that it is probably not an everyday word may also have con-
 " tributed. The same thing, though with less foundation, may

"be supposed in regard to ستي منسي pronounced *satia, manusia*,
 "with three and four syllables, in place of *satya, manusya*, with two
 "and three syllables. Perhaps in the same way the spelling
 "منداقتكن might have caused the change in the pronunciation
 "from *mendapátkan* to *mendúpatkan*; but in grammatical forms it
 "is more difficult to admit that much an influence upon the
 "pronunciation of the people could have come from a compara-
 "tively recent written character. And for the influence which
 "Mr. van de Wall ascribes to it, I can not even find a reason-
 "able cause."

These extracts have been translated from the Dutch, and are given here at such great length for the benefit of those to whom the Dutch Journals are not available. Before stating my own views on this question of the spelling and pronunciation of derived words, it seemed only fair to give the reader the facts and arguments which have already been used on both sides.

There can be no question but that, as stated by Cohen Stuart, the Dutch scholars up to the time of van de Wall universally held that the Malays actually pronounce such words as they are written. How they can have been led to this conclusion can perhaps be understood when it is considered that their study of the Malay language was prosecuted for the most part in Java or in places which are under strong Javanese influence. Robinson formed this opinion because he learnt the language in Batavia and Bencoolen. Marsden also studied at Bencoolen, and wrote his grammar and dictionary in England, where of course he had not the advantage of native help.*

* The Dutch scholar H. N. van der Tuuk seems to have had no personal knowledge of the way in which the Malays of the Peninsula pronounce derived words, for he wrote in 1866 in his notes to Abdullah's *Pancha*

Tandaran:—دكهوپيله. The writer always spells thus, and not

دكهوپيله and so also he spells مانيله and not متيله and not بكمكانه

and not سيفاكه. In the Menangkabau dialect the recent

Whether the Dutch scholars of the present generation have universally accepted van de Wall's dictum in regard to the change of accent in derived words, I am unfortunately not in a position to know, the Library here not being very well supplied with the latest Dutch works on the Malay language, but as far as I am able to discover, the grammar of Gerth v. Wijk, published in 1893, is now considered the best Dutch work on the Malay language. This author is in entire agreement with van de Wall, for on page 46, para. 96, he writes: "The original, "natural accent (of the root word) is usually retained when the word takes a suffix, e. g., *bānding*, *bāndingan*; *kimpot*, *kimpolan*; *dāpat*, *mendāpati*; *lèmpar*, *melèmparkan*. And the phenomenon here presents itself, that if the accent is not very easily distinguishable in the root word, it sometimes comes out clearer in the derived word, e. g., *bēngis*, *kubēngisan*."

After quoting from van de Wall part of the passage which we have given above, Gerth v. Wijk adds: "The tendency to change the position of the accent more or less is chiefly noticeable, as it seems to me, in words which have the *a* sound in the last syllable: such a pronunciation, however, as *kudā-nya* from *kūda*, *padā-nya* from *pāda*, whereby the first syllable of the root entirely loses its accent, which falls wholly upon the second, as is the case with *katā-nya*,† can only be attributed to European-Javanese influence: one never hears it from the Malay."

We shall see later on that van Wijk is probably correct in attributing to Javanese influence this mistaken idea about the change of the accent to the penultimate in all derived words. It seems necessary, however, before going into that question, to inquire first of all which are the words in the Malay language that actually do undergo a change of accent. In order to make an independent investigation of this subject I have written out a list of derived words and have caused them to

"of a word does not change its position on the addition of the particles *lah*, *kah* and *tah*. From the spelling of Abdullah it would appear that this is also the case in the Malay of Malacca."

† Where van de Wall and van Wijk came across this pronunciation of *kata-nya* I cannot imagine. The Malacca and Johor pronunciation certainly gives an accent identical with *kūda-nya*.

be read in my hearing by a number of Malays, with the result that I have only been able to detect an entire change of accent in the following classes of words :

(A) In some words derived from roots ending in *ang* by the addition of the prefix *an*, as *timbang*, *timbangán* ; *láraing*, *laráingan* ; *bilang*, *bilangán* ; *dágang*, *dagáingan* ; *pándang*, *pemandáingan*.

(B) In some derived words formed by the addition of the suffix *i*, as : *buka*, *buká'i* ; *sérta*, *sertá'i* ; *múla*, *mula'i* ; *turun*, *turúni* ; *táhan*, *taháni* ; *kásehan*, *mengaseháni*.*

(C) In some polysyllabic derived words formed with the suffix *i*, the accent is carried forward to the suffix *i* on the addition of the possessive pronoun *nya*, as, *jálani*, *di-jalaní-nya* ; *mengóbatí*, *di-obatí-nya-lah*. This should probably be attributed to the difficulty of pronouncing the consonant *ng* following the vowel *i*, which necessitates a pause.

In the majority of words the root most distinctly retains the original accent, as for instance *júdi*, *jádikan* ; *mákan*, *mákánan* ; *déngar*, *kedéngaran* ; *óbat*, *mengóbati* ; *sálah*, *kesálahan* ; *súrat*, *di-súrat-nya-lah*. It would be ridiculous to pronounce these words, *jadikan*, *makánan*, *kedengáran*, *mengobáti*, *kesalahan*.

There are, however, a large number of derived words, chiefly words of four or more syllables, in which the original accent almost or perhaps entirely disappears, without, however, any particular accentuation of any other syllable, the word being pronounced with an equal stress on all the syllables. Such words are : *perkata'an*, *kekaya'an*, *menjalani*.

Taking the pronunciation of the above-mentioned words into consideration, it would be easy in the case of the words in (A) and (B) to account for the position of the strengthening letters, *alif*, *wau* and *ya* ; and even in the case of the words given above where the stress is equal on all the syllables, one could understand the omission of the strengthening letter from its proper place in the root, though its transference to the penultimate would be difficult to explain ; but when we come to such a spelling as,

* It should be noted that in such roots as *turun* and *tahan* the stress is nearly equal on the two syllables, the change of stress in *turúni*, *taháni* is therefore very slight.

perbuúttan perarákan pekerjá'an jadíkan katákan di-perlakúkan

دفرلکوکن کناکن جدیکن فکرجان فرراکن فربوانن

it becomes simply impossible to account for it on any theory of phonetics, unless indeed one is prepared to admit the possibility of a complete change of pronunciation in the short space of 300 years, which appears to me to be out of the question.

There is, however, it seems to me, a much more feasible explanation of this peculiar discrepancy between the spelling and the pronunciation of those words, and that is to be found in the existence of a cognate language, the Javanese, in which it is admitted that the accent in derivatives actually does change its position and fall upon the penultimate. Moreover the probability that Javanese was the pattern from which this peculiar Malay spelling was copied becomes still stronger when it is pointed out that Javanese words of this kind are written in the Javanese character in a way which has quite a strong analogy to this peculiar use of the strengthening letters in the penultimate. As the Javanese characters are not obtainable in Singapore it has been necessary to resort to the arrangement given below, which represents as nearly as it is possible in Roman characters the way in which such words are spelt in the Javanese character.

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>éb gl.</i> | <i>éb gl n.</i> | <i>gn</i> | <i>gn y</i> | <i>run h.</i> | <i>run h hn.</i> |
| | <i>l</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>tu</i> |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| <i>bé-gal</i> | <i>bé-gal-lan</i> | <i>gan-ti</i> | <i>gan-ti-ya</i> | <i>run-tuh</i> | <i>run-tuh-han</i> |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|

| | | | | |
|---------|----------------|---------|---------|--------------------------|
| بیکالَن | بیکالَن بیکلَن | کَنَتِي | کَنَتِي | رَنتُهَن رَنتُهَن رَنتُه |
|---------|----------------|---------|---------|--------------------------|

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>a nk.</i> | <i>a n ék</i> | <i>ing</i> | <i>ing i</i> |
| | <i>k</i> | <i>p r</i> | <i>m r ing</i> |

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>a-nak</i> | <i>a-nak-ké</i> | <i>pa-ring</i> | <i>ma-ring-igi.</i> |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------|
| اَناکِي | اَناکِي اَناکِي اَنِي | مارِنِغ | مارِنِغ فَاَرِغ |
|---------|-----------------------|---------|-----------------|

It will be seen from the above that in Javanese the addition of the suffix *an*, *a*, *ê* or *i* doubles the preceding letter. Thus, the addition of *ê* to *anak* produces not *anakê*, but *anakkê*, the accent being shown in this way to be on the penultimate. When Javanese is written with Arabic characters, the weak letter *alif*, *wau* or *ya* is substituted for one of the double letters used in the Javanese character.

The resemblance between these Javanese forms* and the spelling of Malay derivatives is so close that it amounts almost to a demonstration that the Javanese or some similar character was the medium through which the use of the strengthening letter in the penultimate came into Malay spelling, regardless of the pronunciation. The question has been raised before whether the Malays had a written character of their own, before they adopted the Arabic character. If that were so, analogy would naturally lead us to suppose that such a character would, like the Javanese, be based upon the Sanskrit, and that would make the step from the Javanese to the Malay spelling of derivatives which has been outlined above still easier. †

* These Javanese double-letter forms can still be traced in Malay in the double *k*, which has no doubt survived owing to the existence of the two letters *kaf* and *kuf*. Thus we find that the Malays invariably use this method of spelling the words given below :

کبايقن ممبايكي مبابيكي فرانغن کايسقن

although the Dutch scholars have endeavoured for more than a century to introduce what they consider more correct forms of spelling, namely :

کپاکن ممبايكي مبابيكي فرانگان کایسون

The fact that the Malays refuse to adopt these European spellings and retain the double-letter forms, is to my mind at once a strong argument in favour of their retention and an additional evidence in favour of the theory that the spelling of Malay derivatives can only be explained as being based upon the Javanese system of spelling.

† Wernndly, in the introduction to his grammar, written 170 years ago, says on page 50 : "The first language from which the Malay language has borrowed some words is her neighbouring and kindred friend and sister the "Javanese language, with which many persons conjecture that she for-

We will now proceed to inquire :

II. What changes have the Malays introduced in their spelling during the last 300 years with a view to greater legibility.

It has already been pointed out in I. (I) that it is now the almost invariable custom of the Malays to write final *wan* and *ya* in words which end in the vowels *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, as well as in those which end in *ai* and *au*. This change has been accepted by van de Wall, Pijnappel, Klinkert, v. Wijk, Wilkinson, and all other modern European authorities.

(2) The use of final *alif* for words ending in the *a* sound, has not, however, been accepted by any of the above-mentioned lexicographers, except in those words which have the stress on the final syllable, as *selu*, *kra*, etc. The extent to which the final *alif* is now used appears, however, to justify the practice, in view of the fact that it renders a large number of words far more legible, and in the absence of any counteracting disadvantage. In the new Malay Spelling Book, No. 1. now used in the vernacular schools of this Colony, the following words are found with final *alif*:

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>bangsa</i> | <i>bawa</i> | <i>bisa</i> | <i>benda</i> | <i>butu</i> | <i>china</i> | <i>choba</i> | <i>chita</i> | <i>dadu</i> |
| بڠسا | باوا | بيسا | بندا | بوتا | چينا | چوبا | چيتا | دادا |
| <i>denda</i> | <i>depa</i> | <i>gila</i> | <i>hasta</i> | <i>hêla</i> | <i>hêja</i> | <i>kena</i> | <i>kuda</i> | <i>lada</i> |
| دندا | دفا | گيلا | هستا | هيلا | هيجا | کنا | کودا | لادا |
| <i>lusa</i> | <i>muda</i> | <i>nyala</i> | <i>rusa</i> | <i>sahya</i> | <i>sisu</i> | <i>sema</i> | | |
| | مودا | پالا | روسا | سھيا | سيسا | سموا | | |

Whereas the following are written without final *alif*:

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>aba</i> | <i>apa</i> | <i>bachu</i> | <i>bapa</i> | <i>bagimanu</i> | <i>biasa</i> | <i>buka</i> | <i>choba</i> | <i>dia</i> |
| اد | اف | باچ | باف | بکيمان | بياس | بوک | چوب | دي |

"merly had one and the same written character in common, and now still has
 "in common a large proportion of words, which cannot well be distinguish-
 "ed except by those who know how to compare them, and by some deriv-
 "ations which are peculiar to the one language rather than to the other."

guna hamba herga herta kata kerja kerna kita kota
 کون کیت کارن کرج کات هرت هرک همب کون
lana lima luka lupa mana masa mata muka nama
 نام موک مات ماس مان لوف لوک لیم لام
nyata pada punya raba raga rasa rata sana serba
 سرب سان رات راس راک راب فون فد پات
siapa suka werna warta

ورت ورن سوک سیاف

In the lithographed 1st editions of the *Hikayat Abdullah*, and *Pancha Tandaran*, which Munshi Abdullah wrote with his own hand, such words are in almost every instance spelt in precisely the same way as the Spelling Book, as the following will show :

bangsa bawu bichara bila blanga blanja bniaga china chendana
 چندانا چینا بوغا بلنجا بلاغا بیلا بچارا باوا بغسا
dada depa dosa dua éja kapala kena nama nyala ontu
 انتا پالا نما کنا کفلا ایجا دوا دوسا دفا دادا
perkara pintu penglima penjara preksa sabda sahya seksa
 شقسا سہیا سبدا فرقسا فنچارا فغلیم فنتا فرکارا

senjakala singa telinga

نلیغا سیغا سنجاکالا

and without *alif*,

ada apa bacha bahasa berniaga benchana cherana derhaka
 درهک چرن بنچان برنیاک بهاس باج اف اد
dia juga kata kerja kerna kita kreta mana mata minta
 مت مات مان کریت کیت کارن کرج کات جوک دی

pada pula puaya rupa sayaja senjata

سجّات سجاج روف فون فول فد

(3) The insertion of the weak letters *wan* and *ya* in closed syllables appears to be a growing habit. It is this tendency of the Malays to use the weak letters which van de Wall sarcastically characterises as "kitchenmaid spelling." No amount of sarcasm, however, will counteract this inevitable tendency, which is not the result of ignorance at all, but rather of a set determination to make words more legible. The only concession along this line which van de Wall is willing to give the Malay is: "If the last letter of a word is a final *h*, a mere aspirate, then he is free to express the vowel of the previous letter "if it is a *kasrah* (*i*, *e*) or *dhammah* (*o*, *u*) by the corresponding "lengthening letter, e. g. *فديه* *pedih* رنتوه *ruutoh*."

Robinson went further than this, and wished the weak letter to be inserted in some words which are ambiguous, as,

ampat umpat tulis tulis

نولوس نوليس اومفة امفة

The modern practice of the Malays themselves, however, goes further still. Abdullah wrote:

apit baung blum betul gantong gadoh hauchor hidong ikut

ايكوة هيدوغ هنجور كادوه كنتغ بتول بلوم باغون افية

kawan-nya kechil keping kris kulit luntek masing menangis pedeh

فديه مناغيس ماسيغ لتيق كولية كريس كفغ كچيل كلوانش

riggit sabot sandagar sebot sungkor tanggol taroh tekun

نكون ناروه نغكوه سغكور سبوة سوداكر سابوة رغكية

telut tras tuan

توان تروس تلوة

He retained, however, the old form of spelling in the words :

balek gantong habis hidop kampong panggil puteh telok tinggal

تغكل تلق فوته ففكل كمفغ هيدف هابس كنتغ بالق

The new Spelling Book referred to above goes even further than Abdullah, giving

angin bangan blum gantong guntung minum payong

اغين باغون بلوم كنتوغ كونتيف مينوم فايوغ

rumpit sakit sedikit takut tunjong tidor tongkat tunggal

رمثوة سأكية سديكية نأكوة تجوغ تيدور نوغكة نوغكل

tumpah umpat

ئومثة ئومطة

But retaining the old forms

bintang habis kampong panggil tinggal

بنٹغ هابس كمفغ ففكل تغكل

(4) As stated above, the *tushdid* is now never used.

(5) The insertion of the lengthening letters in the penultimate of derived words appears to have become firmly fixed in the mind of the Malay, and is still very generally practised. We find the following in the new Spelling Book :

angkatan bacha'an makanan pemandangan pembian

اغكان بچآن مكان فمندائن فمبلين

perkataan tanaman tongkapan

فركثآن تنامن تفكافن

which are absolutely in accord with the spelling of our MSS.

But we also find several words which are not written in the same way, e.g.

bangunan minuman panggilan pembumuhan pencharian pendapatan
 فندافتن فچارین فمبونهن فغکلن مینومن باغونن
pergharapan penglihatan petarohan petutoran pukolan tulisan
 تولیسن فوکلن فتوتران فتارهن فغلپهن فغهارفن
 which according to the old spelling should be

فغهارفن فندافتن فچربن فمبونهن فغکلن منومن باغونن
 تلیسن فکولن فتتورن فتروهن فغلپهن

The new spelling of these words is certainly a very strong confirmation of what is stated above in regard to the position of the accent, and surely no one can deny that the new spelling is very much more legible than the old.

Abdullah writes :

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>apa-kah</i> | <i>bachu'an-mya</i> | <i>bantahan</i> | <i>bagimana-kah</i> | <i>di-bachakan</i> |
| افاکه | باچائن | بنتاهن | بکیمانکه | دبچاکن |
| <i>di mana-lah</i> | <i>fikiran</i> | <i>hadapan</i> | <i>hampiri ia pun</i> | <i>jambatan</i> |
| دیمانله | فیکران | هادفن | هفیری | جباتن |
| <i>kebêbasan</i> | <i>kerja-nya</i> | <i>kedegaran</i> | <i>kedudukan</i> | <i>ke'ésakan</i> |
| کیباسن | کرجاڠ | کدغرن | کدودقکن | کأیسفکن |
| <i>kelakuan</i> | <i>kelihatan</i> | <i>kesalahan</i> | <i>kesenangan</i> | <i>kesudahan</i> |
| کلهکوان | کلیهاتن | کسلاهن | کسناغن | کسداهن |
| <i>kurung-nya</i> | <i>mendatangkan</i> | <i>pakaian</i> | <i>peranakan</i> | <i>perhatian</i> |
| کورونغن | منداقکن | فکاین | فرانقکن | فرهاتین |

perguruan puasa-lah rupa-nya tambahan

تباہن روفاش فواہلہ فغان

It will be seen that the spelling of many of these words is nearer to the spelling of the 17th century than the new Spelling Book, but the strong tendency to change the spelling in the direction of the pronunciation is very evident.

III. Is it possible to formulate rules which will fix the spelling of Malay according to the modern native ideal, i. e., legibility without vowel points?

Undoubtedly it should be accepted as an axiom that the Malays should continue to spell the common words as they have been accustomed to do for centuries; the spelling of these few words is easily learnt, and it would now be next to impossible to change them, e. g.,

ini itu jikalau kerna sagala seperti suatu deri-pada

درقد سوات سفہ سکل کارن جکلوا ایت این

melainkan ketahui

کتہوی ملینکن

Also Arabic words, which have retained the original spelling although the pronunciation has changed, should not now have their spelling altered, as,

dunia jawab miskin umur

عمر مسکین جواب دنیا

The first rule (1) would be, spell with final *wau* and *ya* respectively all words which end in any of the sounds *e*, *i* and *ai* or *u*, *o* and *au*.

(2) All words ending in the *a* sound should be spelt with final *alif*, except those words in which the last consonant is ن ک ک چ ج ب and a few common words such as

ada apa apabila dia ia kerna manusia mula pada pula
 فول قد مول مانسي کارن اي دي اقبيل اف اد

serta siapa

سیاف سرت

Provided, however, that the final *alif* may also be omitted when the last consonant is ت ن م س or ي whenever those consonants are preceded by an *alif*, as in the following words :

bagimana biasa daya kata kaya lama mana masa mata nama

نام مات ماس مان لام کاي کات داي يياس بکيان

nyata puasa rasa rata sama sama supaya

سفای سان سام رات راس فواس پات

(3) The following rules are suggested to govern the insertion of the weak letters *wau* and *ya* in closed syllables (it being understood of course that *alif* is never thus used except in the monosyllable *dan*).

(a) In two-syllable roots, when one syllable is open and the other closed, the weak letters *wau* and *ya* shall be inserted in the closed syllable, except when the vowel sounds of the two syllables are similar. Examples of words with similar vowels:—

bilek bodoh bohong bougu bunoh dusun fikir mimpi sorong susun

سوسن سورغ ممفی فیکر دوسن بونه بغسو بوغ بوه بیلق

tinggi titek tolong tulus turun

نورن نولس تولغ تیتق نغکی

Examples of words with dissimilar vowels:—

agin blum gadoh hidop ikut kasut kechil keping

کشیغ کچیل کاسوة ایکوة هیدوف کادوه بلوم اغین

kring pagong taroh tidor timpa tonda tulis
 کرینگ فایوگ ناروه تیدور تیمفا توندا تولهس

(b) When both are closed syllables, the weak letter should only be inserted in the second syllable if the vowel sounds of the two syllables are similar.

Examples :—

benteng dinding riggit tindeh tumbuh tundok tuggul unjok
 البنتیغ دندینگ ریگگیه تندیه تمبوه تندوق توجلونجک

(c) If the sounds are dissimilar, one being the *a* sound and the other *wau* or *ya*, the *wau* or *ya* must be written in which-ever syllable it occurs. Thus :

bimbang bonting bintang kumbang kumbang tanggong tunggong
 بیمبغ بنتیغ بینتغ کمبیغ کومبغ نکوگ نکوگ

(d) If the vowel sound in one syllable corresponds to *wau*, and in the other to *ya*, then both should be written, as : کونتیغ

It will, of course, be understood that it is quite impossible in this way to represent all the possible permutations of vowel sounds that may be formed with the same consonants. This could only be done with vowel points. The great majority of words in ordinary use will however be covered by the above rules, and something must be left to the imagination of the reader.

(e) In such common words as *tinggal* and *panggil*, it is doubtful whether the insertion of the *ya* would be of any use. The Malays are so accustomed to the spelling *تنگکل* and *فنگکل* for these words that careless readers invariably pronounce these forms *tinggal* and *panggil* even when they stand for *tanggai* and *peggai*, and would certainly continue to do so even if *tinggal* and *panggil* were spelt *تینگکل* and *فینگکل* and as most Malays strongly object to the insertion of the *ya* in these words, I would advocate

its omission, for the present at any rate. Similarly a few other very common words might be spelt without the weak letters, as :

mintu pinta pintu jumpa cinta habis patch timbul bolch oleh

اوله بوله تمل قوته هابس چنتا جمفا فنتو قنتا منتا

ratus mulia himpon êsok lebeh

له ايسق همفون مليا راتس

(4) The *alif* should be used, as explained above, in all words where in the old MSS. a *tashdid* is found over *wau*, as in

buah buat dua jua prempuan tuan luar

لوار نوان فرمفوان جوا دوا بواة بواه

This use of *alif* does not appear to be necessary where *tashdid* is found over *ga* in the old MSS., for the Malays never spell otherwise than

سككين كنتين فمبلين

(5) (a) In root words, the use of the weak letters to lengthen the vowel sound in open syllables requires but few remarks. In words of two syllables, these lengthening letters are almost invariably found in the first syllable, the exceptions being those words in which the accent falls on the last syllable, the first syllable having the short vowel sound, as :

bla kra sela tra

ترا سلا كرا بلا

In three-syllable roots, the lengthening letter is placed in the penultimate: but in one or two words which have final *alif* the lengthening letter is omitted from the penultimate, as

بها جهيا سهيا اوسها رهسيا كفلا

(b) In derived words the aim should undoubtedly be to bring the spelling into agreement with the pronunciation as far as possible without making an entire revolution in the present

dapat dapati krus mengrasi senang kesenangan susah kesudahan
 کسوساهن سوسه کسناغن سنغ مگرسی کرس دافاتی داقة

(e) When both syllables of the root have the *a* sound, and the addition of a suffix requires in the last syllable an extra *alif*, the Malays invariably omit the *alif* of the first syllable of the root, unless it follows one of the letters *و* or *د* : thus,

bacha bachakan di-bacha-nya bapa bapa-nya kata katakan
 کتاکن کات بفاں باف دچاں بچاکن باچ
perkata'an karang karangan makan makanan nama namakan
 نماکن نام مکائن ماکن کراغن کارغ فرکتائن
nama'i salah kesalahan tanam tanaman
 تنامن تانم کسلاهن ساله نمائی

But with words commencing with *و* or *د* the spelling is,

dada-nya dagangan dalam-nya perdayakan rasa-nya wayangan
 وایاغن راساں فردایاکن دالمث داکاغن داداں

With roots in which *ya* is a consonant, the omission of *alif* would cause ambiguity; it should therefore be retained, as,

انیای انیایاکن اوقای اوقایاں برنیاک فرنیاکاں بیاس بیاساں

(f) The suffix *an* requires *alif* when the root ends with the letters *و* or *د*

fikiran kedeng-uran kelakuan petutoran
 فتوتوران کلکوان کدغرآن فیکران

In such words, the *alif* which would otherwise be required by rule (5) (d) in the last syllable of the root must be omitted, as,

بایران کبسرآن کبیرآن کدغرآن کسوکران

(g) The further addition of suffixes or particles to derived words should cause no change in spelling. Some persons write *alif* after the possessive pronoun *nya* when it is followed by the particles *lah*, *kah*, etc., but this appears to be unnecessary. Examples :

bapa-nya bapa-nya-kah kasehi di-kasehi-nya-lah

بڤان بڤاڤكه كاسيهي دكاسيهيپله

nama'i di-nama'i-nya-lah

نماي دنمايپله

(6) The orthographical sign *hamza* ^ء, which was very seldom written in the manuscripts of the 17th century, is now in common use among the Malays, chiefly for the purpose of introducing a syllable which commences with a vowel; they never employ it however for this purpose at the beginning of a word. The *hamza* is placed over *alif*, *wau* or *ya* according to the vowel sound of the syllable in which it is used.

(a) Root words commencing with the vowels corresponding to *wau* and *ya* are written with an initial *alif*; but this *alif* drops out on the addition of the prefix *sa*, its place being taken by the *hamza*; with the prefix *ke* the *alif* is retained and *hamza* written over it.

sa'orang sa'olah-olah sa'isi sa'ekor sa'umpang ke'inginan

سورڠ سوله ٢ سيسي سيكور سومڠام كايقينان

In the following words the *alif* is the lengthening letter of the preceding syllable,

ia'itu ka'il ra'eh da'irah

يايه كابل رايه دايره

(b) In similar derivatives formed from words commencing with the *a* sound, the *alif* is retained and the *hamza* written over it, as,

ke'ada'an ke'ampat ka'atas sa'akan-akan

كاادان كامطة كاتس ساكن ٢

Hamza is used in the same way with the suffix *an* following an *alif*, as,

kenyata'an perkata'an

كِنْيَاتَانْ پَرَكَاتَانْ

(c) *Hamza* is also used with the suffix *i* when it follows an *alif*, but not when it follows *wan*, as,

mula'i nam'i serta'i blarni ketahui lalui tunggu

مُولَايْ نَامَايْ سَرَتَايْ بَلَارُونِي كِتَاهُونِي لَالُونِي تُونْغُونِي

(d) *Hamza* is sometimes placed at the end of a word instead of final ق to indicate a shortening of the final syllable, as

têng'lo' dato' inche' ma' poko' têngo'

تِينْغُولُوْ دَاتُوْ اِنْجِيْ مَاْ پُوكُوْ تِينْغُوْ

(e) It also appears in a few Arabic words :

mala'ikat aja'ib mu'min

مَلَايِكَةُ عَجَائِبُ مُؤْمِنُونَ

IV. For the sake of brevity and clearness the proposed rules for Malay spelling are now recapitulated, without the explanations which were necessary above.

PROPOSED RULES FOR MĀLAY SPELLING.

(1) Final *wan* and *ya* must be used in all words ending in the sounds *u*, *o*, *au*, and *i*, *e*, *ai*, respectively, except

اِبْنِ اَيْتْ يَأْيْنِ يَأْيْتْ سَوَاتْ سَفَرْ

(2) Final *alif* must be used in all words ending in the *a* sound, except (a) when the final consonant is ب ج چ ك كْ

ي ن م ف س ت ; (b) when the final consonant is preceded by *alif*, or (c) one of the following exceptions :

مُولْ مَانْسِيْ سَرْتْ اَفْبِيلْ كَارْنْ فُولْ فُدْ دِيْ اِيْ اَدْ سَكَلْ

(3) (a) In two-syllable roots having one syllable open and the other closed, the weak letters *wau* and *ya* are to be inserted in the closed syllable having the *e*, *i*, or *o*, *u* sound respectively, except when the sounds of the two syllables are of the same class (*o* and *u*, *o* and *o*, *u* and *u*; or *i* and *e*, *e* and *e*, *i* and *i*). (b) When both syllables are closed and have similar sounds, the weak letter must only be used in the second syllable; but (c) if the sounds are dissimilar, one being the *a* sound and the other *wau* or *ya*, the *wau* or *ya* must be written in whichever syllable it occurs; and (d) if the sound in one syllable is *wau* and the other *ya*, both must be written. (e) The following common words are exceptions to this rule, being written without the weak letters,

اوله فغكل تغكل هابس فوته بوله راس مليا ايسق جفا فنتو منئا
همئون فنتا چنتا

Three-syllable roots must be treated similarly.

(4) Where a syllable commencing with the *a* sound follows a syllable ending in the letter *د ر* or *و* the *alif* must always be written. Examples:

لوار مواء جوا بواه بواء دوا بواغ

(5) (a) In root words, lengthening letters are used in those open syllables on which the accent falls. Several words of Arabic origin, however, are exceptions to this rule, and a few other words, such as,

ملك فؤد سن كفلا سكل جكلو تنكل مانسي ملينكن كنهوي

(b) In derived words, when the vowel sound of the last syllable of the root is *e*, *i*, *o* or *u*, the spelling of the root remains unchanged. (c) If the root ends with the open *a* sound, an *alif* must be written in the last syllable of the root when a suffix is added. (d) If the last syllable of the root is closed and has the *a* sound, an *alif* is usually written in the last syllable of the root on the addition of a suffix commencing with a vowel sound, but if the suffix commence with a consonant the *alif* is not required, and the spelling of the root remains unchanged.

(e) When both syllables of the root have the *a* sound, and the addition of a suffix requires an extra *alif* in the last syllable, then if there is an *alif* in the first syllable of the root it should be omitted, unless it follows one of the letters و د ر or ي

(f) When the root ends with one of the letters و د ر, an *alif* must be written before the suffix *an*, the *alif* required by rule (5 d) is then omitted. (g) The further addition of suffixes or particles to derived words causes no change in the spelling.

(6) (a) When *sa* is prefixed to a root commencing with a vowel sound corresponding to *wau* or *ya*, the *alif* drops out, and *hamza* takes its place; with the prefix *ke* the *alif* is retained and *hamza* is written over it. (b) When the root commences with the *a* sound, the *alif* is retained and the *hamza* written over it. *Hamza* is also employed in the same way with the suffix *an* following an *alif*. (c) It is used with the suffix *i* following an *alif*, but not when it follows *wau*. (d) At the end of a word, *hamza* sometimes takes the place of final ق . (e) It also appears in a few Arabic words.

In order to show the application of the principles of Malay spelling reform suggested in this paper, the first chapter of *Hikayat Abdullah*, spelt according to the above rules, is here appended, with a few notes on words which are spelt in an unusual way. A glossary of the words used in this paper as examples is also appended. The root words are arranged in the order of the Malay alphabet, and, wherever necessary, the spelling of one or more derivatives is given after the root. In order to make this list more complete, several words have been inserted in the glossary which will not be found among the examples; these include a number of words in the spelling of which the Malays are very inconsistent, so that it seemed desirable to suggest a fixed standard of spelling in such cases.

It will be seen that this method of spelling is essentially the same as is at present in use among educated Malays throughout the Malay Peninsula, which is admitted, even by the Dutch scholars, to be the home of the purest form of the Malay language.

In this paper but little more has been done than to explain the rationale of this modern Malay spelling, and to reduce it to a system which would enable those who are prepared to adopt it to spell uniformly and consistently with themselves. It has been sought to adhere as closely as possible to the spelling employed by the best educated Malays at the present time in writing their own language, in the firm belief that it is very much more feasible for the few Europeans who use the Malay character to accommodate themselves to the native way of spelling, than for them to attempt to coerce a whole nation of intelligent and self-reliant men into a return to the antiquated Arabian system of orthography illustrated in the manuscripts of the 17th century, which the Malays have been doing their best to improve for hundreds of years past.

APPENDIX A.

بہوا مک ادا له کفدتکل هجرة سنة ۱۲۶۶ تاهون کفد لیا لیکور هاري
بولن شعبان المکرام یأیه کفد دوا لیکور هاري بولن اکتوبر تاریخ مسیحی سنة
1840 تاهون بهوا دیواس ایة ادا له سورغ صحابیکو یأیه اورغ فوته یغ
کوکاسیهی اکندی مک ایاله مننتا ساغ۲ کفد اکو یأیه هندق مغتهوی اکن
اصل اوصلکو دان فری حکایة سکل کهیدوفن دیریکو مک ای مننتا
کارغکن سوات کتاب دغن بهاس ملایو مک ادا له سبب سکل حال دان
فرکارا یغترسبوة ایة مخادی مشغله اکو سرت برتله راسان اغکونا کو سبب
دودق برفیکرکن کهندق ککاسیهکو یغدمکین کارن سکل حال احوال
یغترسبوة ایة سموان فرکارا ۲۱ یغتلله لالو زمانش سباکیلاکئی یغ منداتکین
دکچیتا دالم هاتیکو سبب بهوا سسغکوهن اکو این سورغ بوده لاکئی دغن
کورغ بودیکو دان فهمکو دالم علمو بهاس مک برقیه ۲ قول فچیح

فغتهوانكو دالم علمو مغارغ اداڻ شهدان لاکي ادااله حالکواين قبول تغکم
 دالم فکرجان جوانتکو 1 مک اوله سبب سکل فرکارا یغترسبوة ایتله
 منداتگن فرجنتان دالم هاتیکو سباکیفول مک کتا کوتله اکواکن دیریکو
 سبب کودغر دان کولیه کچوالین کباپکن فول اورغیغ مفاکو دیرین فد
 زمان این فندی دان چاکفن فون برله ۲هن سفاي دفرچاي اورغ اکندي
 فندی تنافي چاکف اغین سهاج مک افبیل دسورهنک اورغ اکندي برهواه
 بارغسوات فکرجان اتو کراغن اتو دریمال تویس دنویس ارني بهاس
 نسچاي ددافاتله اکندیاة کوسغ سبب سکل چاکف دان کشفدین ابة بوکن
 دغن فلاجران ملینکن منغر ۲سهاج سفغ جان مک سبب ایتله تباد
 برکنهوان هولو هیلرن دانلاکي فول کباپکن اورغیغ بیل یغتباد براتو اوجي
 دناغن افبیل اي منغر چاکف اورغ بریاکي ۲ ابة یا 2 بوکن ادااله کلاکوانن
 سغه اورغ مغنتو دسورغن بنتل مک للقله سهاج اي يعني فرچياله اي
 اکندي دغن تباد دچوبان یا که اتو تیدق سومقام سباغ بولوه 3 ترديري
 مک فد سگکان ایتله سباغ کابو یغ بابک لاکي لورس نیاد بیغکغ بیغکغ
 فستی اد برترس دالمن مک جکلو کیران اورغ یغ ممفوبای بودي نسچاي
 دلبهله دهولو دلپهن دالمن نسچاي ددافاتن کوسغ اداڻ تنافي ادااله سغه

1. The spelling of this word *jawatan* is somewhat ambiguous, and the word is sometimes pronounced *juatan* by ignorant persons, but this spelling agrees with Rule (5) (e).

2. Many Malays spell the affirmative monosyllable *ya* in the same way as the two-syllable pronoun *ia*. But this spelling seems better.

3. To distinguish *butoh* from *boloh*, it is better to insert the *wa* in the last syllable of this word, through contrary to Rule (3) (a).

کات عارف بهواسن جوهاري جوک یغ مغنل مأنیکم مک استیوا قول فد
 زمان این سمخنی سله تله مخجادی نکری بلالغ نله مخجادی لغ دان فیهج۲ فون
 تله مخجادی کور۲ دان چاچیغ فون تله مخجادی اولر ناک برمول ادفون
 اصلن سکل عجایب این تربیتن دری سبب هرنا دنیا این مک جکلو هینا
 دان بوده سکالیفون اصل اد برهرتا نسجای ایاله فنیدی دان ترملیا مک
 جکلو فنیدی دان ملیا تنافی تیاد برهرتا نسجای ترهینا جوک سبرمول اداله
 سکل فرکتان دان مثل دان اوئمئان ایه سموان کوامبیل عبارة بآکی دیریکو
 قرنام۲ هینا کادان دیریکو دان کدوا مسکین حال کهیدوفنکو دان کتیک
 کورغ علمو دان فهمکو دان کأمفه بوکنش اکو این اهلی بآکی فکرچان کارغ
 مغارغ ایه مک بهواسن تیاداله بآکیکو قوآ۴ کواس دان دای اوفاي ملینکن
 درفد الله اداش دان لآکی سکالی۲ تیاد سوپی دیریکو دربحال برصفه ککوراغن
 دان کلماهن فد تیغ۲ ماس دان کتیک اداش کلکین ستله هاسله فیکرانکو
 یغدمکین مک تیبا۲ ترسدرله سوله۲ دیکونکن اورغ اکنداکو درفد نیدورکو
 سمیل برکات دمکین جکلو کیران اغکو هینا ممنتاله فد یغلیا دان جکلو
 اغکو مسکین فنتاله فد یغ کای دان جکلو کورغ فهمو فوهنکنله کفد
 نوهن یغتنله برجنجی بارغسیاف یغ ممنتا ای اکن مندافه مک جکلو کیران
 دمکینله کوراهنش نوهن ایت انشاء الله تعالی اکو ممنتا نولغ جوک دغن
 سوله۲ ان کفدش یغ تله ممبنتغکن لآغیه یغ سبسر ایه دغن تیاد برتوغکته

4. I have spelt this word in the same way as *buat*.

سفای دفنوهیث اکن کهنندق ککاسیهکو ایه مک جکلو اکو این بوکنن اهلی
 بانی یغدمکین سکالی فون بهوا هارقله جوک اکو کفدان اکن مپرتای اکو
 انس فکرجان یغ سدیکه این ادان

APPENDIX B.

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| ادو فغادوان | انور انوری انوران |
| استان استنان | اجراجری فغاجران |
| اغکک اغکاتن (1) | اد اداله کأدان |

1. From the examples given in this glossary (which was completed after the paper was already in print) it would seem possible to make Rule (5)(4) more definite as to whether or not the *alif* should be inserted in a closed final syllable having the *u* sound, on the addition of a suffix commencing with a vowel. It appears that the Malays usually insert the *alif* when the last consonant of the root is *ت* or *و* but not otherwise, unless the stress is distinctly on that syllable. Thus :

اغکاتن اوبانی ایغاتن ایکاتن سوکاتن ملیهانی حرمانی
 اوفاهن بنتاهی تکاهن تمباهن فرسمباهن کسوساهن فغاهن فرنجاهن
 کلهاهن ملوداهی کموراهن کموداهن

Roots ending in *ت* and *و* which are exceptions to this rule are :

کفایهن کساغتن سورتن کاکهی

The following are examples of roots ending in other consonants, the derivatives being written without *alif* :

کأمسن بالسن تغکفن کتغکفن رمشن فغهارفن

But the following have the accent on the last syllable of the root and take *alif* :

تلانی کدیامن فسانی مغانلی ککلافن مغانفی کلفاسن

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| اودارا | اغكونا |
| اوسغ اوسغن | اغين |
| اوسها | اف افهاكه |
| اوشاي اوشايان | اقيل |
| اوفه اوفاهن | اقية |
| اوكر اوكران | اكام اكمان |
| اوله فراولهن | امبيل |
| اومقام فراومثمان سومقام | امس كامسن |
| اومقة | امقة كامقة |
| اونتا | انتارا |
| اوندغ | انتوغ |
| اي اباله | انجوق انجوقكي (2) |
| ايت ايتله | انجي |
| ايرىغ (3) | انق قرانقكن |
| ايسق كائسفقن | ايناي اينيايكن |
| ايغة ايغاتن | اوبه اوباني |
| ايغن كايغنن | اونس اوتسن |

2. See footnote p. 102.

3. Three words in this list are almost invariably spelt with the weak letter *ya* in both syllables, contrary to Rule (3)(a):

ايرىغ ايغن كيرم

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| ايكة ايكاس | بتينا |
| ايكوة | بچارا بچاراكن |
| ايكور سيكور | برة ممبراتي |
| ايلوق كايلوقكن | براف برافكه |
| ايمام | برس |
| ايمان | برنيانك فرنيانكان |
| ابن ايناه | بدن |
| باتوق | بسر كسران |
| باچ بچاكن بچان | بغسا |
| باغون باغونن | بغسو |
| باف بفان بفايكه | بكتو |
| بالس بالسن | بكيان بكيانكه |
| باليك باليكن | بلا |
| باو | بلاغا |
| باوا | بلنجا |
| باير بايران | بلوم |
| بايك مبايكي | بلي فمبلين |
| بايق كبايكن | بناس بنسالة |
| بتول ممتولي | بنته بنتاهي فر بنتاهن |

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| تَغْكَوْغْ | تاغْن تاغني دناغنيث (6) |
| تَغْكَوْل | تاغيس |
| تَغْكَوَه | تاكوَه تاكوتي كتاكوتن |
| تَغْكَي | تايم تنامن |
| تَكُون | تاون تاوانن |
| تَكُه تَكَاهِن | تاھن تاھني (6) |
| تَلْن تَلَالِي | تاھو كتهوي قتههوان |
| تَلُور | تاھون |
| تَلُوق | تان تپاكن تپاي |
| تَلِيغَا | تختا |
| تَمْبُول | ترا |
| تَمْبُوَه | ترغ كتراغن منراغي |
| تَمْبَه تَمَاهِن تَمْبَاهِي | تروس |
| تَنْتَوَه | <i>trek</i>) تربق |
| تَغْخُوغْ | <i>triak</i> ز |
| تَنْدُوق | تريما |
| تَنْدِيَه | تغكف تغكفن |
| | تغكل كتغكلن |

6. According to Rule (5)(c) these words should be تَغَانِي and تَغَانِي and they are occasionally so spelt, but the Malays seem to find some difficulty in reading these words if they are spelt in that way.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| نواغ نواغي | تيمغ تيمباغن |
| نوان | تيمب |
| نوتر فتوتران | تيمفا |
| نوتف نوتفن | تيمور |
| نورن نوروني كنورن (7) | جادي كجادين |
| نوغمكة | جاك جكاله |
| نوغمكغ | جالا |
| نوغمكل | جالن جلاني فرجلانن |
| نوكر نوكران | جاؤه |
| نولغ فرنولغن | جاهة كجهانن |
| نولس | جكلو |
| نوليس | جمفا |
| نومغه | جولا |
| نوندا | جواب |
| تبتق | جوال |
| تيدور | جوك |
| تيغو تيغفله | جيك (8) |

7. This spelling of *turuni* does not follow Rule (3)(a), but نورني is not easily read, and as the accent is *turūni* it seems better to insert the *wau*.

8. This word is often spelt جك

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| خواطر | چاري فنجارين |
| دانغ مندائغي کدانغن (10) | چلاک چلاکاش (9) |
| دانو | چينا |
| دادا | چتيک |
| دافه ددافاني کدافان | چندان |
| داکغ داکاغ | چوب دچوبان چوباي |
| داون | چوچو |
| دای دايان | چوما |
| دایره | چينا |
| درس | چينا |
| درفد درفدان | حال |
| درهاک درهکاله | حرمه حرمانی |
| دریچال | حکم حکمن |
| دسنا | حکیم |
| دسینو | حیران |
| دغر کدگران | خبر خبران |
| دفا | خلاصي |

9. The form چلکاش which would be in accordance with Rule (5) (c), is unusual and not easily read.

10. See Note (6).

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| راج راجاکن کراجان | دکچينا |
| راس راساي | دمکين |
| راک راکان | دندا |
| رايه | دنديغ |
| ريان | دنهارى |
| رغکيه | دنيا |
| رمش رمشن | دوا |
| رمقوة | دوري دورين |
| رنتوه | دودق کدودفکن مندودفکي |
| رندو | دوسا |
| روسا | دوسن |
| روسق کروسفکن | دوک دکچينا |
| روفا | دهاک دهکان |
| ساغة کساغن (11) | دي دباله |
| ساکن ۲ | دیم کديامن منديامي |
| ساکيه | ديواس |
| ساله کسلاهن | راب |
| سام سماں | رات راتاکن |
| سان دسانله | رائف مرانفي |

| | |
|------------------|------------------|
| سکارغ | ساوه |
| سکچينا | ساوه |
| سکلين | ساهوة |
| سکرا | سبدا |
| سکل | سبوة |
| سلغ کسلاغن | سرب |
| سلوار | سرت سرنأي بسرت |
| سلا | سده کسداهن سدهکن |
| سلیسه فرسلیسهن | مپودهکن (12) |
| سمبلیه فرسمبلیهن | سدیا |
| سمبه فرسمباهن | سدیکه |
| سمیل | سغاج سغجان |
| سمفرنا | سغکور |
| سموا | سغکوه |
| سنتوسا | سفاروه |
| سغبات سغبتان | سفای |
| سغجاکالا | سغرق سغرتین |
| سغ کسناغن | سقسا |

12. The spelling of the root is irregular, and wherever possible the derivatives are spelt in the same way as the root.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| سیاف سیافکہ | سوات |
| سیسا | سوارا |
| سیغ | سواف |
| سیغا | سورة سورتین (13) |
| سیمین | سورغ |
| شک | سُورغ |
| شکور | سوروة |
| عجائب | سوره سورهن |
| عمر | سودارا |
| فیکر فیکران | سوداکر |
| فاکی فکائین | سوسن |
| قابوغ | سوسه کسوساهن |
| فایه کفایهن (14) | سوک کسوکان سکچیتا |
| فجه فجامن | سوکة سوکاتن |
| فراہو | سوکر کسوکران |
| فرچای کفرچیان | سُولہ ۲ |
| فرغ ففراغن ممرای | سومفہ |
| فرکارا | سہیا |

13. This is the usual spelling.

14. See Note {1}.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| فوتر فوتران | فرقسا |
| فونس كفونسن | فرلاهن ۲ |
| فونه | فرمفوان |
| فوكل فوكلن | فرننه فرنهه |
| فوكو | فد فدان |
| فول | فديه |
| فوله | فسن فساني |
| فون مموپاي | فشكل فشكيلن |
| فها | ففسا |
| فيله فيلمن | فشغ فشكاغن |
| فواه ككوانن | فليتنا |
| قوم | فليهارا فليهاراكن |
| كات كتاكين فركنان | فنه |
| كانس | فنتا |
| كارغ كراغن | فنتو |
| كارن | فندغ فمنداغن |
| كاسوة | فنوه فنوهي |
| كالا | فواس فواساله <i>puasa</i> |
| كامفة | فواس فواسله <i>puas</i> |

| | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| کلکین | کاون کاونن |
| کلوار | کای ککایان (15) |
| کلورک کلورکان | کایه |
| کمبیغ | کابل |
| کمدین | کتاب |
| کمفوغ | کچیل |
| کنا مغانای | کرا |
| کنل مغانلی | کرج فکرجان |
| کواس کواسان | کرس مفراسی |
| کوالا | کرنیا |
| کوتا | کرتیا |
| کوئر | کریس |
| کورغ ککوراعن | کریغ |
| کودا | کستا |
| کولیه | کفل |
| کومبیغ | کفلا |
| کیت کیتاله | کشیغ |
| کیه | کلاف |

15. By Rule (5)(c) this should be ککایان but the word is always spelt as it is here given.

| | |
|--------------|-------------------|
| لاير فلايران | كيريم كيرين |
| لاين ملينكن | كادوه |
| لاين لاياني | كانكه كانكهي (16) |
| ليه كلييهن | كلر كلران |
| لفس كلناسن | كلث-كللافن |
| لقسا | كمر كمران |
| لمه كلماهن | كنتوغ |
| لنتيق | كنتي كنتين |
| لوار | كثف مكنكافي |
| لواس | كونا |
| لوده ملوداهي | كونتيغ |
| لوسا | كيلا |
| لوكت لوكان | لارغ لاراغن |
| لوفنا | لادا |
| ليما | لاكو كلاكوان |
| ليشر مليشري | لافر كلافران |
| ليهه مليهاتي | لام لمان |
| مأ | لاوة لاوتين |
| مات متان | لاون لاوان |

16. See Note (1).

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| ماتى كمتاين | متنا |
| ماس مسان | مواة |
| ماسوق ماسوقكي | موره كموراهن |
| ماسيغ | موده كموداهن |
| ماكن مكانن | موك موكان |
| مان مانله | مول مولان |
| مانسي | مومن |
| مانيكم | مينوم |
| ماين فرماينن | نام نمان |
| منهاري | نايك نايقكي |
| مريك | نجيس |
| مريكيت | وايغ واياغن |
| مسكين | ورنا |
| مغاف مغافكه | ورنا |
| مك | وفتو |
| ملايكة | هابس فغهايسن |
| مليا | هارف فغهارفن |
| مليكن | هادف هدافن |
| مفي | هان هپاله |

| | |
|-------------|---------------|
| هیدوغ | هرنا |
| هیدوف | هستا |
| هیلا | هیشک |
| هیلغ کپیلان | همب همبان |
| هینا | همنون فرهمنون |
| یا | همغیر همغیری |
| یایت | همچور |
| پات بتان | هندق کهندقکی |
| پالا | هیجا |
| پاموق | هرک هرکان |